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[The place names for which the numerals on the maps on pages 192-A and 192-B provide a key can be found in scattered references on pages 238 and following.]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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[p. 1 is blank]

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[p. 2-A]

Fig. 1 Relief Map of Malta and Gozo.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

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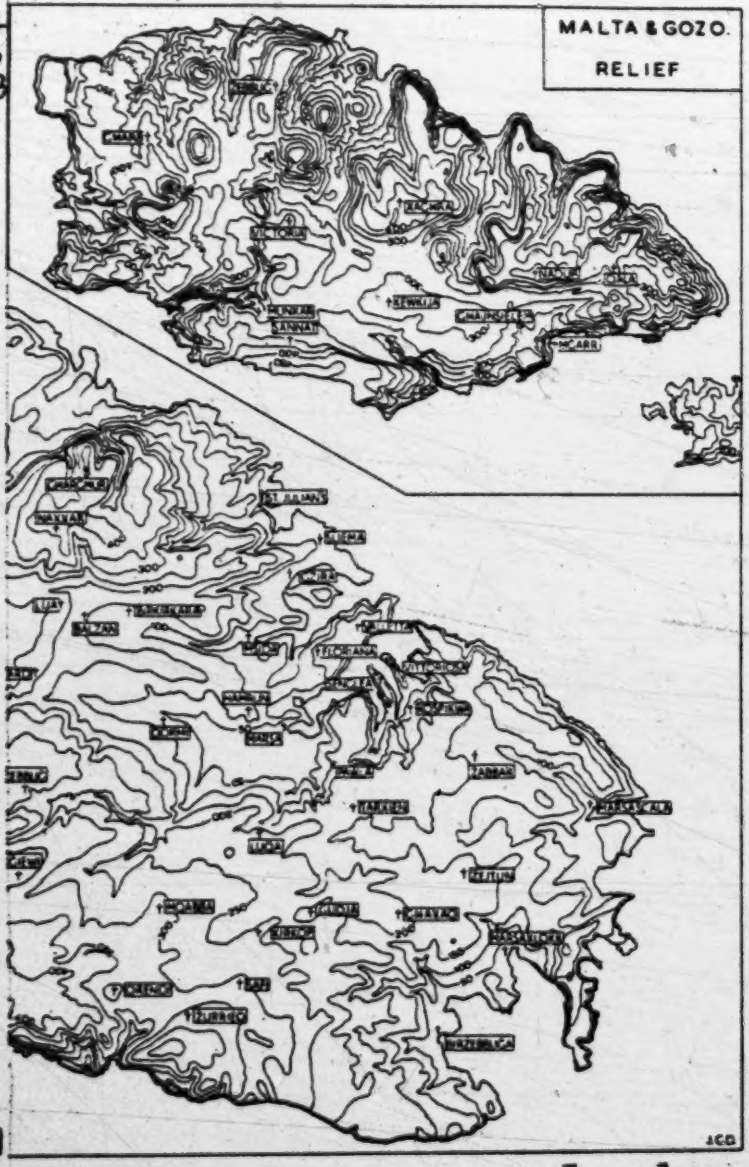

Fig. 1

Relief Map of Malta and Gozo.

[A2-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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MALTESE ORTHOGRAPHY, PRONUNCIATION AND PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

The notes which follow are intended to assist the reader in the pronunciation of place names and other Maltese words occurring in the text. Certain letter symbols occur in the Maltese alphabet which are not found in English, while others have pronunciations very different from the English ones.

The special symbols involved are as follows:-

H, h. Where this letter occurs alone, it is strongly aspirated. The nearest equivalent in English is the "h" in "house" but in Maltese the aspiration is even stronger. Thus Mellieha will be pronounced Mellie-ha.

GH, gh. This is, in effect, a single letter and represents the Arabic 'ain. It is now almost silent in standard Maltese but is sounded, as in Arabic, in some rural dialects.

Ċ,ċ; Ġ,ġ; Ż,ż. A dot placed over these consonants indicates a softening in pronunciation. Thus "c" occurs in Maltese only in loan words where it retains the pronunciation of the original language, while "ċ" represents "ch" as in English "church", "G" is hard as in English "garden", "ġ" soft as in English "jam", "Z" is pronounced as "ts" in English "its", "ż" as "z" in English "zebra".

Consonants with "non-English" values are:-
J, j pronounced as "y" in English "yet".

Q, q in standard Maltese has assumed a glottal value but is still pronounced "k" (as in Arabic) in some local dialects.

X, x is universally pronounced "sh" as in English "show".

There is some slight variation in the pronunciation of vowels but the following values are predominant:-

A,a as "a" in English "far"
E,e as "e" in English "bet"
I,i as "ee" in English "feel"
O,o as "o" in English "lock"
U,u as "oo" in English "boot"

When followed by j, "e" and "a" have special values:-

-aj- pronounced as "i" in English "ice"
-ej- pronounced as "e" in English "they"
-ie- pronounced as in English "pier"

103 Space does not permit of any but the most cursory mention of the significance of the great range of Maltese place-name elements. As a result of the help received from Professor J. Aquilina of the Royal University of Malta the authors were able to increase their understanding of Maltese life and landscape by using to some extent this and other philological evidence. The reader will similarly gain in understanding by an appreciation of even a few place-name meanings.

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COMMON PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

Ahrax	Rugged
Bahar	Sea
Bir	Well; but could also be a phonetic corruption of "Bur" = natural pasture land
Blata	A rock
Casal	Village
Ġebel	Rocky Hill
Ghajn	Spring
Għar	Cave
Ġnien	Orchard or garden
Hal	Village
il-, iċ-, id-, in-, ir-, is-, it-, ix-, iż-	The
Kbir	Large; Great
Marsa	Harbour
Misrah	Wide open space
Nadur	Look-out point
Qala	Bay or inlet
Qortin	A dry, flat-topped promontory or bluff
Ramla	Sandy Bay
Ras	Headland
Rdum	Undercliff
ta'	Of
tal-, taċ-, tad-, tan-, tar-, tas-, tat-, tax-, taż-	Of the
Torri	Tower
Wied	Valley
Xagħra	Wasteland

Several further place-name groups may be distinguished. Some obviously refer to topographic features: Wied il-Għajn; valley of the spring: Wied il-Kbir; the great valley. Others are related to crops: Wied il-Ħemsija; valley of the chickpeas. Another group refer to stock rearing: tal-Merħla (the place) of the flock of sheep; or to cultivation in a general sense; Wied il-Ġnejna; valley of gardens or orchards. In other cases uncultivated vegetation is referred to: Besbesija; the place where fennel grows, or Wied ta, Għajn Rihana; valley of the myrtle spring. Again there is a group of names emphasizing some feature of the landscape in general: il-Wilġa; land overlooking a valley: il-Miżieb;(land with) drains. Many others are derived either from proper names: tal-lombardi, nicknames; Wied Babu: or Saint's names; San Rokku. In the last case, the names are often derived from a local church or chapel and care must be taken to avoid false conclusions. Tas-Silġ; (of ice or snow) refers to the chapel of the Madonna of the snows and not to a meteorological phenomenon.

MALTA – GROUPING of LOCALITIES into CENSUS DISTRICTS

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LOCALITY	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1948
VALLETTA				Valletta							
FLORIANA	Floriana District				District				Urban		
KOSPIKWA	Cottonera						East				
SENGLEA											
VITTORIOSA				District			District				
HAMRUN											
STA. VENNERA											
MARSA					Valletta						
SLIEMA	Third										
GŻIRA											
ST. JULIAN'S	District				District						
MSIDA											
PIETA									Suburban		
BIRKIRKARA							Central				
QORMI							District				
PAWLA	Fifth District						East				
TARXIEN											
ŻABBAR	Seventh District						District				
KALKARA											
MDINA											
RABAT	First District						West				
DINGLI							District				
MĠARR											
SIĠĠIEWI											
ŻEBBUG	Second District						Central				
MOSTA											
MELLIEHA	Fourth District						West				
ST. PAUL'S BAY							District				
NAXXAR											
GHARGHUR							Central				
LIJA											
ATTARD	Third District						District		Rural		
BALZAN											
LUQA	Fifth District										
ŻEJTUN											
MARSAXLOKK											
BIRŻEBBUĠA	Seventh District						East				
GUDJA											
GHAXAQ							District				
ŻURRIEQ											
SAFI											
KIRKOP	Sixth District										
QRENDI											
MQABBA											

Country District

M.R/J.C.D. 1958

Fig. 36 Malta: Grouping of Localities into Census Districts.

[p. 134-C]

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Malta

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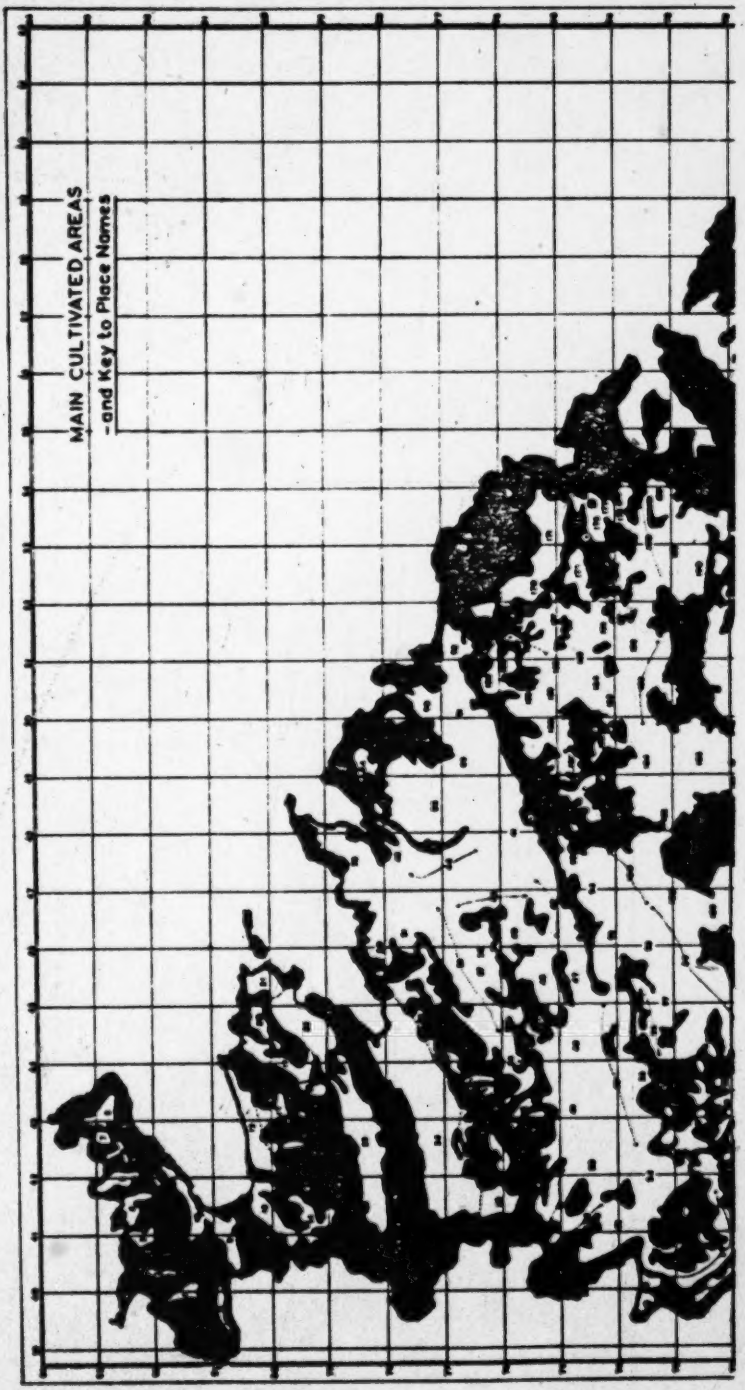
103



[p.192-A]

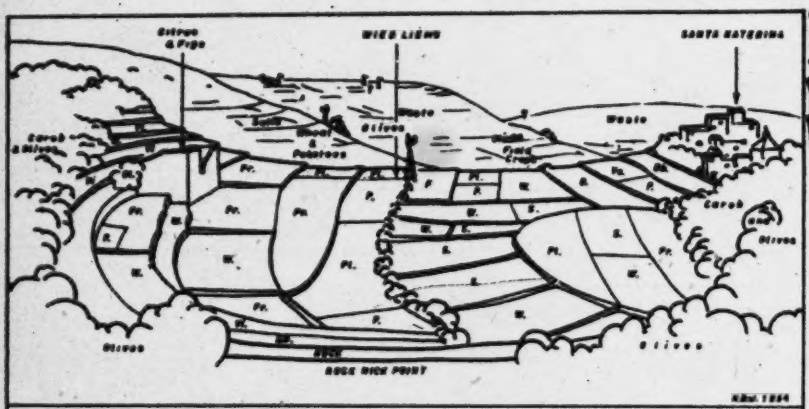
Fig. 69 Main Cultivated Areas and

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

Fig. 69 Main Cultivated Areas and Key to Place Names: Malta.

[p.192-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Malta



MALTA-BLUE CLAY BASIN (XV): id-Dahla : View NW from MR 434695

Fig. 112 Malta: Blue Clay Basin: Wied l-Iemu.

has, developed within it, the large solution hollow of Hofret ir-Rizz (75) (Fig. 111C). Bounded by a low Coralline cliff under which lie five farmhouses, and infilled with deep, red soils, this almost circular depression has often been erroneously identified as a circular fault. It is intensively cultivated for potato, vegetable and fruit crops and sub-division of the wind-pump irrigated land is extreme.

Around Hofret ir-Rizz lie dry-farmed fields of cereals and sulla interspersed with wasteland. The name of neighbouring Misrah tas-Suffara ('the open place of the whistle' - a possible reference to shepherds' pipes) gives an indication of the character of the open, non-irrigated upland here and over the remainder of the region, where dry-farming and *xaghra*-grazing areas are interspersed. Most of the eastern promontories of Xaghra ta l-Isqof (129) and Gebel Ciantar are so used. Similarly, behind the Upper Coralline cliff overlooking the sea, extends an area of virgin karst, abandoned land and some small reclaimed plots.

Between these more exposed lands are many small pockets, intensively cultivated under potatoes, legumes and a relatively large number of vegetables. The small, walled fields cluster around groups of wind-pumps and tanks as at ix-Xaghra ta'Swatar (Fig. 111A) on the Rabat Plateau (109). Irrigation water, extracted by wind- and motor-pumps, is available almost everywhere on these uplands. The density of pumps suggests that extraction is dangerously large (see also Chapter I C). Already in 1955 farmers in the tal-Pitkal district (82) were obliged to stagger periods of pumping and a large number of abandoned wind-pumps emphasise the hydrological instability. In 1956 the Maltese Government, in order to avoid such dangers, imposed a general ban on unlicensed well-drilling.

In this region, the urge to cultivate intensively results from the demands of Rabat as a consuming and marketing centre. At Busugrilla (105) (Fig. 111B) this is manifested in very specialised market-gardening around a flourishing hamlet which stands on the Fiddien road. Well linked by roads to the rest of the island, possessing in Mdina-Rabat the old capital which is still of considerable importance, and also carrying much dispersed and hamlet settlement, these uplands stand out from other Upper Coralline regions by reason of their more intensive land use.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) .1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

On the spur of Ghar Ram (199) and tal-Ħandaq (200), the intensity of cultivation decreases eastward, cereals and sulla becoming dominant. The even slopes of tal-Ħlas (198) drop northward to the more level Għammieri district of the Wied is-Sewda. Gradient has little effect on the selection of crops grown in these areas. Cereals and sulla dominant throughout although potatoes assume a greater importance than on the summit. In contrast the southern edge of the ridge is more abrupt, falling sharply to the Wied Qirda. Precipitous terraces, standing above a storm-water channel cut in Lower Coralline rocks are almost completely abandoned. The only pocket of fruit cultivation in this region lies in the Wied Qirda above the main incision and close to Żebbuġ.

Scattered settlement of farmsteads and a few small hamlets is generally aligned along roads and tracks. The great majority of the land-holders, however, live in the casal of Żebbuġ which combines some urban functions with those of village settlement.

XVIII (d). THE SIĠĠIEWI REGION

In many ways this region is a counterpart of that of Żebbuġ. The high plains west of Siġġiewi sweep south from ta'Brija (133) to tal-Bajjada to merge with the open Rdum tal-Lunzjata. Intensive dry-farming of cereals, sulla and vegetables is characteristic. Onion cultivation is of particular importance here as throughout the region.

From this western platform, the ridges of tal-Bordin (135), tal-Għaqba (205) and ta'Ħaxxluq carry relatively high land to the east. Tal-Bordin is noteworthy only for the absence of early potatoes, possibly because of its rather exposed position. The place-name element *nadur*, meaning a look-out point, is significantly attached to the fields on this small ridge. The main ridge of tal-Għaqba, carrying a variety of crops, is generally similar to tal-Ħandaq on the other side of Wied Qirda. The crop range is similar on ta'Ħaxxluq ridge, though the fields are generally smaller and the country more broken (see Fig. 119). In these eastern districts, the commercial farming element is most strongly represented by onion growing which is even more extensive here than around Żebbuġ.

Siġġiewi itself was established on the south-western edge of the central settlement zone of Malta. The casal and outlying farmsteads were to some extent influenced by the need for protection from corsair raids. Walled enclosures and a few defensive towers indicate past insecurity. Siġġiewi still lies off the busiest lines of communication and the south-western part of the region is one of the least accessible districts of the central lands of Malta. Here, small hamlets cluster around isolated churches as at tal-Providenza (150).

XVIII (e). THE QORMI REGION

The district around Qormi is atypical of the Central Region as a whole. A considerable number of motor-driven pumps extract water from the fault-fissured Globigerina beds and irrigable land constitutes a large proportion of the total area. Vegetable and fruit crops, the latter including citrus and even such exotics as the banana are grown intensively in this sheltered district (Fig. 120). The Qormi basin is a westward continuation of the Marsa lowland, an area of alluvial deposition (see Chapter II). Large farms with irrigated gardens surround the large casal (Fig. 117B).

C.XIX. THE SOUTHERN REGION

A highland ridge with an average altitude of more than 400 feet extends eastwards from the Upper Coralline scarp at Lunzjata along the southern coast as far as Bubeqra. Further east and towards the interior of the island, the land falls away in gentle slopes. Although true wasteland is confined to a coastal belt coinciding with outcrops of Lower and down-faulted Upper Coralline beds, much land has elsewhere been taken out of cultivation. The airfields of Luqa and Hal Far, still in use and their as yet un-reclaimed wartime extensions, together with large-scale quarrying on either side of Mqabba, have sterilised a great deal of land.

formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements - Zebbug, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people. Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship. The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce, the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revolutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available. The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years, the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent. of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture. This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954 totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields, storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieha, and even this, hidden from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 50 years. Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways. Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 35 years ago, who would

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2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P.2]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Zebbug, Gharghur, Gudja, Mosta, Qrendi, Dingli and Zurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Gharb).

In addition to the many new confraternities dedicated to him after 1850 (in Naxxar, Gharghur, Kirkop and Xagħra, for example) he was chosen as patron of the new parish churches of Kalkara, Qala and Msida. Moreover, four parishes have secondary feasts dedicated to him (Rabat, Għaxaq, Kirkop and Żebbuġ). Besides these Gharghur and Siġġiewi had St. Joseph partiti which succumbed to the 1935 Church regulations.

The identification of secondary partiti in general with St. Joseph is also perhaps reflected in the colour most have chosen as their symbol. It is blue, the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of St. Joseph. The supporters of many secondary partiti, even if their saint is the Virgin Mary, wave blue scarves about to show their loyalty to it. Their rivals display red scarves, after the colour of the banner of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose members support the titular saint.

The correlation between partiti and occupational class is also shown in the high proportion of village priests who are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. I once asked the leader of a secondary partit why this was so. He replied that it was only natural since the families of the titular partiti were in much closer contact with the parish priest. Thus their sons, rather than those of rivals, more often became his young helpers and altar boys and received the necessary recommendations to the seminary and other church-run schools. From there, some became priests, and others assumed positions of leadership with the various associations. Other informants suggested it was because the 'best' families support the titular saints, and therefore can afford the additional school fees and loss of earning power that are involved in having their sons become priests.

Of the 41 priests born and now resident in Żurrieq, Kirkop, Qrendi, Mqabba, Luqa, Għaxaq and Żebbuġ, 33 (80 per cent) are sons of families supporting the titular feasts. This percentage gains added importance by the fact that in each of these villages the secondary partit is either equal to or larger than the titular partit. The exception is Żebbuġ, where the secondary partit is decidedly smaller than the titular one. In Farruġ, though the local priest is from a St. Roque family, all the offices connected with the parish church, and 23 of the 30 key positions with Catholic Action, the Football Club and the Labour Committee, are in the hands of St. Martin supporters. Thus the members of titular partiti are not only closer to established authority, they often become part of it.

1 [i.e. St. Joseph.—Analyst]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

proportion of clerics and nuns in the Sixth Electoral District helps to explain the relatively low Labour poll there. It is also a significant factor in explaining the overwhelming defeat of the MLP in Gozo. These two districts have the highest proportion of clerics in the country. The Fourth District, in contrast, has the lowest.

TABLE 7. 1962 Elections:
Occupational Class and Voting Behaviour[1]

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS[2]	SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (As percentage of total lab. force)			PERCENTAGE LABOUR VOTES
	Professional[3]	*Skilled*	*Agricultural*	
IInd (Senglea, etc.)	4 (3)	45	4	56
IVth (Żurrieq, etc.)	3 (2)	34	11	47
VIth (Birkirkara, etc.)	6 (4)	33	11	24
Xth (Gozo)	7 (6)	16	38	6
All Districts	5 (3)	32	11	34

IV

It will have been observed that there is a certain superficial similarity between the reasons given here for belonging to the MLP and those suggested in the preceding chapter for recruitment into the secondary festa partiti. One might expect therefore that in comparison with titular partiti, secondary partiti would have a higher proportion of Labour supporters among their members. Unfortunately, owing to the disturbed political situation prevailing at the time, I was not able to gather satisfactory systematic data on this point. Almost all informants with whom I discussed the matter suggested that secondary partiti did in fact have more pro-Mintoff members than their rivals. But the situation is not quite as straightforward as it might appear. To begin with, the statements of informants varied according to their own political beliefs and their position in relation to the festa partiti. Rivals generally tried to place each other in an unfavourable light. Thus an anti-MLP member of a band club supporting a titular feast

[1] Source: *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 40–111; and *The Malta Government Gazette* (3 March 1962), pp. 583–94.

[2] *IInd* (Cospicua, Senglea, Vittoriosa, Kalkara, Żabbar, M'skala), *IVth* (Żurrieq, Safi, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, B'bugia, Żejtun, M'xlokk), *VIth* (Birkirkara, Balzan, Lija, Attard, Naxxar, Gharghur).

[3] Percentage of priests, monks and nuns in parenthesis.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

142 colour, without risk of considerable confusion, where work had necessarily to be done, sometimes under ideal conditions, sometimes in glaring sunlight, and sometimes in the not too well-lighted interior of a Maltese house. Both in hair and eye colour Zurrieq stands by itself. In that village one man in three has black hair, and two have brown. In the rest of Malta and Gozo the reverse is true. About 1 per cent. fair-haired people are found alike in Zurrieq and elsewhere. In Zurrieq two men out of three have brown eyes and there are slight odds in favour of the third man having hazel eyes rather than blue. In Siggewe, where black hair is slightly less common than elsewhere, out of ten men, five tend to have brown eyes, four hazel, and one blue. Elsewhere in Malta blue eyes are about twice as common, that is to say out of ten men five have brown eyes, three hazel, and two blue. It is perhaps worth [103] mentioning that the name Zurrieq, connected with the root *azrak*, means blue, and I was told that the village was so called because blue eyes were more common there than elsewhere.

In Gozo, although the hair colour does not differ materially from that of Malta, in round numbers, out of ten men seven have brown eyes, two hazel, and one blue.

In Malta the hair colour of the women does not differ to any great extent from that of the men, although fair-haired women appear to be slightly more uncommon. Brown eyes, however, seem to be much commoner, and hazel and blue eyes about half as common. With so small a series, however, it is possible that this result is merely illusory.

Comparative material from the Eastern Mediterranean shows very great discrepancy with these data, especially in relation to the number of blue eyes, which are nearly twice as common in Malta as they are in Cyprus, and more than three times as common as they are in Crete. The number of fair-haired persons in Malta is small, smaller even than in Cyprus, whereas generally speaking fair-haired people, though always remarkable and much admired, are not uncommon in Greek lands, not only among gods and goddesses, but even among the ordinary folk.

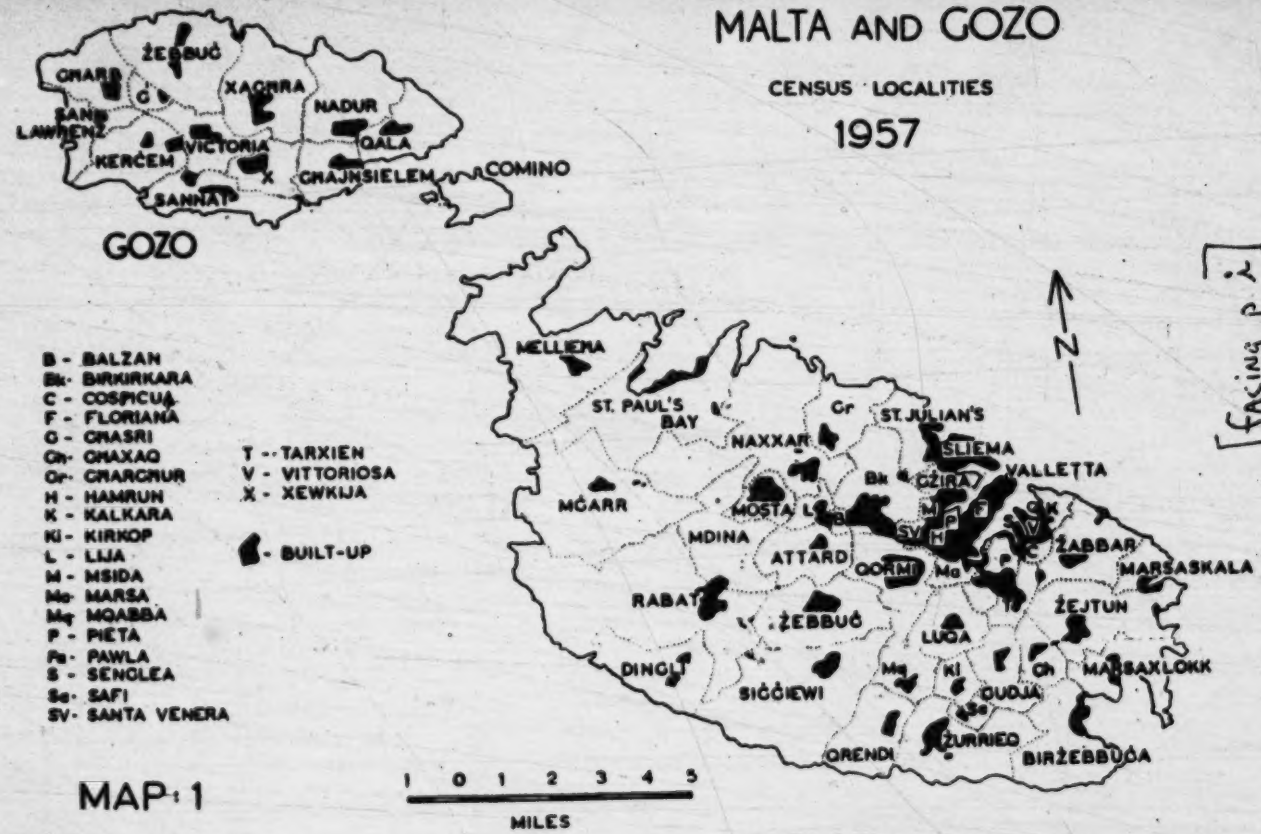
It would be interesting to correlate these differences in pigmentation with differences in climatic conditions. Up to the present, however, we have not succeeded in finding any generalization which would fit the figures, and the matter must remain *sub judice* until further data is available.

142 We have so far been dealing with hair colour and eye colour separately. By the use of Parsons' index (36) it is possible to take both into consideration. Parsons takes the percentage of dark brown and black hair, adds the percentage of dark eyes, and divides the result by two. This final result he terms his colour index. Where the eyes have been graded in three shades, *e.g.* blue, neutral, and brown, or some similar classification, he includes half the neutral group as well as the brown eyes under the heading dark. As our eye colour was graded in this way we have

MALTA AND GOZO

CENSUS LOCALITIES

1957



B - BALZAN
Bk - BIRKIRKARA
C - COSPICUA
F - FLORIANA
G - GHASRI
Gh - GHAXAQ
Gr - GHARGHUR
H - HAMRUN
K - KALKARA
Ki - KIRKOP
L - LIJA
M - MSIDA
Mo - MARSA
Mq - MQABBA
P - PIETA
Pa - PAWLA
S - SENGLEA
Sa - SAFI
SV - SANTA VENERA

T - TARXIEN
V - VITTORIOSA
X - XEWKIJA

- BUILT-UP

MAP 1

[facing p. 2]

[frontispiece]

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36

This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

• 103 361 178

In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically independent. [578] In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological [712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls of the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

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In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

712 museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

361 175 (2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important locus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

361 175 ● 103 (3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Għarb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xagħra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiburras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1581) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Għargħur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Għaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 1A, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Msida & Pieta (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898) Pawla (1910), Marsa and Ghira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Vennera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north -

361 Mellieha (1841), Mgarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
● 103 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kercem (1885), San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911), Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 361 369 In the period reviewed the major development has been the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2:- The Farmer and Farming

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DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 241 423 [114] The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525) have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. 311 423 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

can command.

There has, however, been material help to fishing in the form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture, that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mgarr and Xlendi. Socially this residential distribution is important since only in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

As a class the fishermen and their families are economically lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same basis, and the average for the total population was lower still at 8.2%.

The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on the social scale. This, together with the generally depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite the present official financial assistance, is producing exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Paola	1,261	3115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3500	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3481	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	6
Hamrun	715	6594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1408	38.1	17
Tarxien	487	2184	21.8	-
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	-
Rabat	383	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2154	16	-
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	248	2554	9.7	-
Msida	240	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.6	26
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	838	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Kalkara	50	1279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Gharghur	28	608	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.06	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	61			-
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/188.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P. 180]

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APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/168, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES: LAND AREA, sq. miles A	LOCALITIES: POPULATION. B	"TOWNSHIPS": LAND AREA, as % of A.	"TOWNSHIPS": POPULATION, as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,095	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,065	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Fawla	1.066	11,424	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	39.6	100
Hamrun	0.360	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,362	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,706	12.5	56.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,869	9.9	95.6
Birżebbuġa	2.994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,893	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,665	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.952	1,469	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.8	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,663	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.635	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,969	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.6	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,688	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.286	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,055	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.167	1,656	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	98.7
Safi	0.447	709	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,616	3.6	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.620	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xaghra	4.654	4,056	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,269	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	69.2
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,199	4.4	95.1
Mġarr	5.956	2,167	0.8	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1.075	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	98.876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	26.974	27,601	5.9	93.6

NB: - Information from B/168. Table P IIIb).

APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

794 Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

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Malta Catholic Action - Young Men..... CY
" " " - Young Women..... CG
" " " - Men..... CM
" " " - Women..... CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (N.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men..... MM
" " " " " - Women..... MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish..... LM
Holy Name Society..... AM
Young Christian Workers..... YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders..... Co
Churches..... Chs
Date of foundation of Parish..... Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch..... .
" " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known..... B

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AM, YCW, numbers (e.g. 36, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1936, 1910, etc.)

No information..... ?

IB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Co	Chs
Valletta 1	1585	B	25	58	B	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	B	B	B	B	B	.	10	.	B	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	56	8	5
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	B	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	B	B	B	B	B	B	.	B	.	7	5
Cospicua	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	49	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	58	.	.	9	B	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	B	58	B	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	B	B	B	10	.	B	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	B	50	53	07	26	3	36	B	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	B	28	28	10	10	4	48	48	2	4
Marsa	1913	B	B	B	B	09	09	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	49	.	7
Msida, Pieta	1887	31	31	56	.	08	08	2	B	B	4	4
St. Julians	1891	45	44	45	48	?	.	2	.	.	5	2
Balzan	1855	B	56	31	57	B	B	4	B	.	4	?
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	B	.	.	.	.	4	?
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	B	57	B	B	8	31	48	6	10
Tarxien	1592	37	B	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	45	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1438	B	B	.	B	?	?	.	.	.	7	8
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	B	3	3
Birzebbuga	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Zabbar	1615	45	45	46	52	09	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	45	45	.	49	.	1	1
Zejtun	1436	52	35	B	55	12	B	.	B	55	5	7
Lija	1594	B	50	58	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Mqabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	?
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	56	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	?
Zurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	29	.	29	54	8	7
Ghaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	B	B	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	B	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1808	B	B	44	49	B	B	5	.	48	9	7
Zebbug(M)	1436	32	33	44	48	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Ghajnsielem	1855	B	B	.	.	.	B	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1438	.	45	.	51	15	15	.	35	.	4	4
Qrendi	1618	B	B	.	.	B	B	.	B	.	5	7
Kirkop	1592	48	48	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	?
Naxxar	1438	47	40	B	.	35	31	1	35	48	8	5

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PARISH	DATE	CY	CG	CM	CV	MM	MY	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	CMs
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	8	28	56	15	17
Xewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	8	8	2	8	.	2	2
Gharghur	1598	8	46	58	57	8	33	.	32	.	6	6
Hellieha	1841	54	46	57	54	.	44	3	8	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	8	38	.	26	38	.	8	48	8	.
Sannat	1668	.	32	30	.	30	.	1	.	.	2	1
Nadur	1668	8	8	.	.	8	8	.	8	.	3	3
Safi	1598	7	54	.	56	.	8	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	36	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	8	8	.	.	8	8	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	48	.	8	42	.	48	2	.	.	4	7
Kerċem,St.Lucia	1885	8	8	29	8	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xagħra	1686	8	8	.	.	.	.	2	8	.	3	4
Għarb	1679	8	8	8	8	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	8	8	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1688	.	8	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Mġarr (M)	1898	8	8	8	8	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Għasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	27	.	2	2
Munxar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 60) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's, Valletta).
Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1902.

NOTES

1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Wolts, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made 1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

796 [543] [438] [265] tables, piled with the castellated erections of honey and almonds, tempt those crowds of country people to spend what they have purposely put by for this annual holiday.

After three or four hours of high revel the wheeled vehicles return home with their jolly occupants singing all along the road.

Sta. MARIA

796 184 On the 15th of August, the day dedicated to the Assumption of the B. V. Mary (Santa Maria), nearly all the Island of Malta is *en fête*.

[103] Seven of the twentyfour villages, that is:— Casals Musta, Dingli, Attard, Crendi, Micabiba, Asciak and Gudia celebrate on this day their titular feast with the usual illuminations, fireworks and processions.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
[P.17]

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9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 456 342 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 311 So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however inaccessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as [342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 34 ●163 243 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farmhouses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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some sculptured escutcheon; the old stone *fougasses*[1] to be encountered along the coast; even the very cliffs; even tiny Comino, from whose stony fields, where is cultivated the cumin seed from which the island takes its name, there rises one of the massive square keeps which the Knights scattered throughout their territory.[2]

The casals are, as has been said in an earlier chapter, not villages, but compact stone townships of tall houses and narrow streets, solidly built in good substantial Baroque architecture. Their outskirts, as likely as not, are dignified with some ancient country-house concealed behind high walls amid charming gardens—the beauty and seclusion of the Maltese gardens are justly proverbial—while the focus of the casal, both literally and metaphorically, is the parish church. This is generally a great Baroque pile of golden sandstone flanked by two massive towers, but an exception is the Parish Church of Mosta, built in the classical style in the middle of the nineteenth century mainly by the efforts, both technical and financial, of the villagers themselves to the design of the ingenious Maltese architect Grognet de Vassé mentioned in Chapter II. It is topped by a dome that claims to be the third largest in the world, being surpassed in size only by those of S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Peter's in Rome, higher internally than the dome of the Roman Pantheon and exceeding by sixteen feet the diameter of that of S. Paul's in London.

[1] Patrick Brydone (*cf.* pp. 143–147) gives an interesting account of this little-known form of coastal defence; "For we found, to our no small amazement, that the rocks were not only cut into fortifications but likewise into artillery to defend these fortifications: being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air: and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel."

[2] An excellent companion for the exploration of the island is F. Weston's *Walks in Malta*, published in Valetta. Later booklets include Showell Styles, *Walks and Climbs in Malta* (Valetta, 2nd edn., 1952), and H. H. Hick, *Walks in Gozo* (Malta, 1953).

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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the Grand Master who was their founder or their patron, gay with the rich heraldry and colouring of the last phase of the age of chivalry. We have seen in Chapter XII that Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch, inglorious but Maltese-speaking and on excellent terms with the Maltese country-folk, gave one of his names and his special patronage to no fewer than three of the casals. Zabbar's subsidiary name was Città Hompesch, that of Siġġiewi Città Ferdinando, that of Żejtun Città Beland, the maiden name (Bylandt) of Hompesch's mother. Similarly, Curmi was known alternatively as Città Pinto, Żebbuġ as Città Rohan. In the cases of Senglea and Pawla the Grand Masters de la Sengle and de Paule were actually the founders.

It affords a pleasant and richly coloured glimpse into a romantic past, and happy evidence of the attachment of the Maltese to their unique historical traditions, to see the great square armorial flags of these Grand Masters in their proper tinctures waving on gala days over their casals.

July, August and September, the hottest months of the year, are Malta's *festa* season *par excellence*. At that period, and especially in August, there is an absolute orgy of what irreverent young officers are apt to call "festering," and the two islands resound from end to end with the detonations of petards and bombs. At night the parish church of whichever casal is celebrating its patronal feast is prettily illuminated, while elaborate set-pieces are displayed regardless of expense and other fireworks of a less stationary nature accomplish, or fail to accomplish, their destined trajectory. The amount spent annually by the population on fireworks and mere noise-making contrivances is positively staggering.

The first village *festa* I attended—I had arrived in Malta in the month of August—was in one of the smaller, more remote and more rustic casals. The church bells were clanging with no attempt at rhythm; rockets and Roman candles were going off in rapid succession in all directions; Catharine-wheels were rotating around one; the noise was

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Classical authors as well as travellers of the Renaissance and later ages have praised Malta's fertility, the quality of its corn, its fruit, its linen and its cotton,[1] the sweet scent of its roses,[2] the delicate aroma of the wild thyme that flavours its honey. Cicero, in fact, called Malta a land of honey and roses, and it was being described in similar terms nearly two thousand years later. "The fruits are of exquisite flavour," wrote Dr Meryon, Lady Hester Stanhope's sorely tried physician, companion and biographer. "Flowers are very fine, and I could not help fancying the roses more fragrant than in my own country. Malta honey is highly esteemed." Elsewhere the Doctor remarks that "no people are more attached to their country than the Maltese to their barren rock"; and it is natural enough that the Maltese of to-day should like to refer to their island as "the flower of the world."

This phrase, if held to refer solely to scenery and vegetation, might appear to some to verge on the excessive. If it be taken to apply to the many-sidelines of Malta's interest and amenities it does not lack justification.

[1] During the era of sailing-ships Malta, and especially the casal of Zebbuġ, produced a heavy cotton sail-cloth which earned a wide reputation and was exported all over Europe.

[2] The name Attard, the charming old casal half-way between Hamrun and Mdina, means "the village of roses."

Arms of G. M. Manoel de Vilhena

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GOZO
COMINO
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